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Message Text

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ACTION OES-02

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 PM-03 SP-02 NSC-05 NSCE-00 IO-03

EUR-08 L-01 INR-05 CIAE-00 EA-06 EB-03 SAJ-01 DODE-00

RSC-01 /055 W
---------- 098317
R 181123Z DEC 74
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6868
INFO USMISSION IAEA VIENNA
AEC GERMANTOWN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 19372

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, TECH, IT, GW
SUBJECT: NPT: THE FRG, ITALY AND THE TREATY

REF: IAEA VIENNA 10341

BEGIN SUMMARY: NO FINAL DECISIONS HAVE BEEN TAKEN IN BONN WITH REGARD TO A DEFINITIVE FRG APPROACH TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM OF ITALY'S FAILURE THUS FAR TO RATIFY THE
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NPT. A DUTCH DECISION TO DEPOSIT RATIFICATION INSTRU-

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MENTS MIGHT INDUCE THE GERMANS TO TAKE SIMILAR ACTION.
ONE PLAN UNDER CONSIDERATION TO BRING ADDITIONAL PRESSURE
ON THE ITALIANS IS FOR THE FOUR EURATOM STATES TO
DEPOSIT THEIR INSTRUMENTS OF RATIFICATION OF THE NPT
BUT NOT REPEAT NOT PLACE THE EURATOM-IAEA VERIFICATION
AGREEMENT INTO FORCE. NO CONSENUS HAS YET EMERGED
WITHIN THE FRG ON HOW TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM, BUT
GERMAN DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE
PLUS CERTAIN POSITIVE ACTIOHS BY THE DUTCH OR ITALIANS
MIGHT INFLUENCE THE FRG TO DEPOSIT ITS RATIFICATION
INSTRUMENTS. END SUMMARY

1. FRG DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER ROTH HAS EMPHASIZED TO
US THAT NO FINAL DECISIONS HAVE BEEN TAKEN IN BONN
WITH REGARD TO A DEFINITIVE FRG APPROACH TO RESOLVE THE
PROBLEM OF ITALY'S FAILURE THUS FAR TO RATIFY THE NPT.
AMBASSADOR ROTH NOTED THAT THERE ARE MANY PEOPLE WITHIN
THE FRG WHO BELIEVE THE INSTRUMENTS OF RATIFICATION
SHOULD BE DEPOSITED SOON. ROTH HAS DISCUSSED THE MATTER
WITH OFFICIALS WITHIN THE FONOFF, THE ECONOMICS
MINISTRY AND THE MINISTRY OF RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY,
BUT A CONSENSUS OF OPINION HAS NOT YET EMERGED AND ALL
FRG OPTIONS ARE STILL OPEN.

2. THE DUTCH SEEM DESTINED TO PLAY A KEY ROLE IN THE
EVENTUAL GERMAN DECISION. ROTH BELIEVES PRESSURE IS
STILL BUILDING UP ON THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT TO DEPOSIT
ITS INSTRUMENTS OF RATIFICATION. DURING A RECENT
BILATERAL CONVERSATIOH IH BOHNN BETWE DUTCH FORMIN
VAN DER STOEL AND FRG FORMIN GENSCHER, IT WAS INDICATED
THAT THE DUTCH WOULD PROCEED TO DEPOSIT RATIFICATION
INSTRUMENTS IF THE ITALIANS HAD NOT REACHED A CLEAR
DECISION ON THE VERIFICATION AGREEMENT BY THE END OF
THE YEAR. SHOULD THE DUTCH TAKE SUCH ACTION, ROTH
SAID THERE IS "CONSIDERABLE LIKELIHOOD" THAT THE FRG
WOULD ALSO MOVE IN A SIMILAR DIRECTION.

3. ROTH'S CURRENT THINKING IS THAT IT MIGHT BE
POSSIBLE TO APPLY ADDITIONAL PRESSURE ON THE ITALIANS
IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER. THE PLAN WOULD BE FOR THE FOUR
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EURATOM STATES - THE NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM, LUXEMBOURG,
AND THE FRG - TO DEPOSIT THEIR INSTRUMENTS OF RATIFICA-
TION OF THE NPT BUT NOT RPT NOT PLACE THE EURATOM-IAEA
VERIFICATION AGREEMENT INTO FORCE UNTIL SUCH TIME AS
ITALY HAS RATIFIED THE NPT.

4. ROTH CONTINUES TO CHARACTERIZE THE ITALIAN ARTICLE
25(B) APPROACH AS ARTIFICAL. HE SAID HIS GOVERNMENT

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HAD FORMALLY CONVEYED ITS VIEWS ON THIS MATTER TO THE
GOI. HE THINKS THE ITALIANS ARE SEEKING THE EASY WAY
OUT, AND HE IS NOT ENAMORED OF THE SCHEME. MORE-
OVER, ROTH IS FEARFUL THAT FRG ACCEPTANCE OF THE ITALIAN
LEGAL PLOY WOULD LEAD TO ANOTHER FULL-FLEDGED NPT DEBATE
IN THE BUNDESTAG. SEVERAL INFLUENTIAL MEMBERS OF THE
CDU/CSU OPPOSITION ARE ALREADY LOBBYING TO HAVE THE FRG
POSTPONE DEPOSITING ITS INSTRUMENTS OF RATIFICATION OF
THE NPT UNTIL SUCH TIME AS JAPAN HAS RATIFIED THE TREATY.
ACCORDINGLY, ROTH IS LEERY OF ANY INTERIM SOLUTION SUCH
AS THAT SUGGESTED BY THE ITALIANS, NOT LEAST BECAUSE OF
THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS WHICH MIGHT ENSUE

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RSC-01 /055 W
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IN THE FRG.

5. ANOTHER FRG COURSE OF ACTION IS TO CONTINUE TO WAIT FOR THE ITALIANS TO ACT. THIS IS WHAT THE GERMANS HAVE BEEN DOING ALL ALONG. IF THE ITALIANS WERE TO FINALLY SEND THE NPT TO THE PARLIAMENT, ROTH INDICATED THERE WAS A CHANCE THE FRG WOULD DEPOSIT ITS INSTRUMENTS OF RATIFICATION AT THAT TIME. ROTH POINTED OUT THAT THE GERMAN EMBASSY IN ROME HAS REPORTED ITS MOST RECENT CONCLUSION THAT THE MAIN STUMBLING BLOCK IN
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SUBMITTING THE NPT TO PARLIAMENT IS ITALIAN FONOFF SECRETARY GENERAL GAJA RATHER THAN POLITICAL DIRECTOR DUCCI. ROTH SAID THE EMBASSY ALSO REPORTS THAT THE EURATOM-IAEA VERIFICATION AGREEMENT MAY BE RATIFIED BY THE ITALIAN PARLIAMENT IN JANUARY. ROTH STATED FURTHER THAT SOME INTERNAL PRESSURE APPEARS TO BE BUILDING UP IN ITALY FOR NPT RATIFICATION. HE REFERRED TO A RECENT ARTICLE APPEARING IN A SCIENTIFIC JOURNAL WHICH INDICATED THE ITALIANS HAD THE CAPACITY TO BECOME A NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATE. THE ARTICLE HAD APPARENTLY OCCASIONED AN INTERNAL DEBATE AND A GROUP OF SOME 180 ITALIAN SCIENTISTS HAD REACTED BY WRITING A MEMORANDUM TO THE GOVERNMENT RECOMMENDING THAT THE GOI PROCEED WITH RATIFICATION OF THE NPT.

6. COMMENT: WE NOTE A SENSE OF DRIFT WITHIN THE FRG ON HOW TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM PRESENTED BY ITALY'S FAILURE TO RATIFY THE NPT. THERE IS NO STRONG DECISION-MAKING CENTER WITHIN THE FRG ON THIS ISSUE, AND THE ONLY POLICY DEVELOPED THUS FAR HAS BEEN TO PROD THE ITALIANS WITH AN OCCASIONAL DEMARCHE. EVEN THIS POLICY NOW SEEMS TO HAVE LOST WHATEVER EFFECTIVENESS IT MIGHT HAVE HAD BECAUSE OF GROWING ITALIAN SENSITIVITY TO PRESSURE APPLIED BY OTHER EURATOM STATES. WE EXPECT THE FRG WILL CONTINUE TO DRIFT ALONG WAITING FOR SOMETHING TO HAPPEN ELSEWHERE. HOWEVER, GERMAN DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE IS QUITE STRONG, AND WE WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED TO SEE THE FRG DEPOSIT ITS RATIFICATION INSTRUMENTS IN JANUARY OR FEBRUARY PROVIDED THE DUTCH OR ITALIAN CATALYST WERE STRONG ENOUGH.
END COMMENT
CASH

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